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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE TWO THOUSAND
NINE HUNDRED AND NINETY-SECOND MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 14 June 1991, at 10.30 a.m.

President:	Mr. BECHIO	(Côte d'Ivoire)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	China	Mr. JIN Yongjian
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON DE QUESADA
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	India	Mr. GHAREKHAN
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. RICHARDSON
	United States of America	Mr. WATSON
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. LUKABU KHABOUJI N'ZAJI
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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91-60740/A 5109V (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11 a.m.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): As this is the first meeting of the Security Council this month, I should like, on behalf of the Council and on my own behalf, to pay a warm tribute to my distinguished predecessor, Mr. Li Daoyu, Permanent Representative of China, for his services as President of the Council for the month of May. In expressing my gratitude to Mr. Li for the courtesy and diplomatic talent which he demonstrated in conducting the proceedings of the Council last month, I am sure that I speak for all members of the Council.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN CYPRUS (S/22665 and Add.1 and 2)

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Mavrommatis (Cyprus), Mr. Exarchos (Greece) and Mr. Aksin (Turkey) took places at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I should like to recall that in the course of the Council's consultations members of the Council agreed that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Osman Ertug in accordance with rule 39 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council decides to invite Mr. Ertug in accordance with rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the appropriate moment, I shall invite Mr. Ertug to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Operation in Cyprus for the period from 1 December 1990 to 31 May 1991 (S/22665 and Add.1 and 2).

Members of the Council also have before them a draft resolution (S/22700) which was prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 697 (1991).

I now call on the representative of Cyprus.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): Please permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on the assumption of your duties both as President of the Security Council for the month of June and of the post of Permanent Representative to the United Nations of your country, Côte d'Ivoire, with which my own country, Cyprus, has always maintained the most cordial relations. At the same time, I take this opportunity to request that you convey to your predecessor our warmest congratulations on the assumption of his duties as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Côte d'Ivoire, and to wish him every success in his new high duties.

Through you, Sir, I should also like to extend congratulations and appreciation to the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Li Daoyu for the exemplary manner in which he conducted the work of the Council during the month of May.

Our thanks and appreciation go also to all members of the Security Council, not only for unanimously adopting resolution 697 (1991) on the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) and of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices for a further period of six months, but what is more important, also for their unwavering support and constant interest in pursuing the long-overdue solution to the Cyprus problem, a problem whose solution has for years eluded us owing to the obstacles continuously placed in the path of the Secretary-General's efforts by the refusal of Turkey to accept and cooperate in the implementation of the numerous mandatory resolutions that this Council has adopted on the problem.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

I should like to take this opportunity to express once again our deepest appreciation and gratitude to the Secretary-General for the consistent and principled manner in which he has been seeking to promote a just and viable solution to the problem. We thank him, and we once again pledge our full and unqualified cooperation with him in reaching the long-sought settlement of the Cyprus problem. This pledge of ours, as shown by the consistently positive position of the Government of Cyprus, is not a mere verbalism, as unfortunately has been proven in the case of others, but is the reiteration of a firm commitment by the Government of Cyprus to cooperate constructively, with good will and in all bona fides.

Thanks and appreciation are also extended to the Commander of UNFICYP, General Clive Milner, and to all his officers and men, to the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Oscar Camilión, to nder-Secretary-General Marrack Goulding and to the Alternate Special Representative, Mr. Gustave Feissel.

On this occasion, Mr. President, permit me to express pparticular thanks to the UNFICYP troop-contributor countries which, despite the deep financial crisis facing the Force, have with dedication to their mission maintained their forces in UNFICYP and continue to offer their services at the high levels of professionalism we have come to expect of them.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

I should like to touch for a moment on the subject of UNFICYP's finances, also mentioned in the Secretary-General's report (S/22665) of 31 May 1991, and to reiterate the anxiety and preoccupation of the Government of Cyprus with this chronic financial problem, which puts in jeopardy one of the most necessary and most successful peace-keeping operations of the United Nations.

Cyprus, despite the multitude of problems that the Turkish invasion and occupation of part of our territory - the very part that before the invasion accounted for over two thirds of its gross national product - have heaped on it, has always contributed substantially towards the costs of UNFICYP in both monetary and material terms. In the current year, Cyprus has made a substantial provision of $2.7 million in its budget for contributing to UNFICYP. Of this total, an amount of $1 million has been offered as a cash contribution, while a slightly larger amount has been provided for the maintenance of UNFICYP camps. The remaining amount is provided for such expenses as rent for private property leased for UNFICYP requirements, supply of electricity at UNFICYP checkpoints, plus work related to the creation of new structures and the renovation of old to satisfy the needs and requirements of the Force.

As an example of what this entails, suffice it to say that in the case of the well-known Ledra Palace Hotel, utilized as a United Nations headquarters, the Government of Cyprus provided 500,000 Cyprus pounds - which is the equivalent of over $1 million - for renovating the Hotel, and has also undertaken its maintenance to the full satisfaction of the Force. I thought it appropriate to mention the above information and figures in some detail because it seems that not all members of the Council are aware of the full extent and details of Cyprus' contribution to UNFICYP's requirements.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

How characteristic it is of Turkey, the latter-day unrepentant conquistador responsible for the necessity to maintain UNFICYP, that for years it has not made any contributions. But then again, did anybody really expect otherwise from Turkey, with its consistent pattern of inconsistency with principles and norms?

We do regret the fact that it has not yet been found possible to arrive at a solution to this problem. We appeal to all members to conclude their deliberations as soon as possible and to consider seriously the only other viable option - that of assessed contributions, in conjunction or otherwise with the existing system of voluntary contributions - and other necessary changes. The good offices part of the Secretary-General's report is brief and, since the further report called for by the statement of the President of the Security Council on 28 March 1991 is not due for another few weeks, I shall briefly attempt to sketch the developments since last December.

The most important development during the period under review was the reversal of the occupation of Kuwait and its liberation, with the enormous weight that its message carries to countries in occupation of other countries in violation of international law and Security Council resolutions. It is regrettable that Turkey has not yet absorbed the full impact of this message, although realization of the fact that the international community cannot for much longer condone the anachronism of the occupation of Cyprus forced Turkey to embark upon and maintain the direct contacts of its Government with the Secretary-General. Unfortunately, we do not have as yet any concrete evidence that Turkey is actually moving towards a positive response to questions of such cardinal importance as territory, return of refugees, freedom of settlement and the withdrawal of the occupation forces. The need for such a response, a sine qua non to progress, is recognized by all.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

Based on indications or signals that Turkey had adopted a reasonable attitude, it was our hope that during this meeting we would have been able to hail at least some progress. Our hopes and those of the international community were dashed by continued intransigence. Let us hope that the next few weeks and the anticipated fifth round of talks between the Secretary-General and the Government of Turkey will restore some degree of optimism. In the circumstances, a successful conclusion of these talks is a necessary prerequisite for a step forward in the direction of a negotiated solution to the Cyprus problem. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his oral statement to the Council only six weeks ago, he was waiting for answers from the Turkish side on some of the key issues, which are the territorial arrangements, the displaced persons, and the fundamental rights and freedoms of the citizens of Cyprus.

Instead of a positive response, long overdue, on the part of Turkey, what do we have? A futile exercise in intellectual dishonesty in the guise of the latest Turkish proposal for quadrilateral talks on Cyprus, a shrewd move trying to conceal, albeit without success, the frustrating failure of the Turkish side to clarify its position on the key issues.

Furthermore, not only does this proposal distort completely the true nature of the Cyrpus problem, which is one of invasion and occupation, by not mentioning the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council adopted in the course of the 17 long years of this as yet unresolved international problem: it is also in direct contradiction with paragraph 3 of Security Council resolution 550 (1984).

Given, therefore, the very nature and dimensions of the Cyprus problem, it would be much more appropriate to convene a conference, presided over by the Secretary-General, whose participants should be the Governments of the

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

permanent members of the Security Council, of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, and of the two communities in Cyprus. Needless to say, such a conference can only be convened after the necessary groundwork is completed, with reasonable proposals on the questions of substance having been submitted to the Secretary-General, thus establishing tangible possibilities for progress.

There is no effective overall recipe for resolving international conflicts. Yet in our attempt to do so, it is of paramount importance that we be guided by well-established and universally accepted principles, which safeguard the cause of justice and, above all, the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals. Only by the use of such guidelines shall we be able to ensure that the solutions we seek are durable and acceptable both to those directly concerned and to the international community as a whole.

Being the sole depository of the most encompassing and universally accepted set of principles enshrined in its Charter, with its credibility and authority greatly enhanced, the United Nations must fulfil its role sooner rather than later. This is the framework to which we have entrusted the long overdue solution of the Cyprus problem.

The illegal presence of the Turkish occupation army in Cyprus cannot be tolerated any more. It promotes and perpetuates the division of a sovereign Member State. Nor can the United Nations remain passive to the plight of the displaced persons or to the drama of the relatives of the 1,619 missing persons who are waiting in vain for Turkey, year after year, to cooperate in the ascertainment of the fate of their loved ones. Victims of the continuing occupation in Cyprus are also the enclaved Greek Cypriots in the northern part of Cyprus, whose numbers have dwindled from 20,000 in the aftermath of the 1974 invasion to a mere 576 now, as a result of constant harassment and persecution.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

The continuing implantation on a massive scale of colonist settlers from Turkey on the occupied soil of Cyprus is another source of grave concern to all Cypriots, Greek and Turkish alike. By pursuing this arrogant policy of colonization, in a provocative contempt for international law, Turkey is aiming at a radical change of the demography of Cyprus, at the distortion of the political volition of the Turkish Cypriots and, in the final analysis, at the indirect control of the future federal State. The number of these settlers has reached the staggering figure of 80,000, as compared with the present Turkish Cypriot population of approximately 90,000.

Only two days ago, Turkey, the country that was ordered by paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 550 (1984) to withdraw its ambassador from the occupied part of Cyprus - and to this day it has not done so - signed a so-called agreement with the illegal Turkish Cypriot régime "abolishing passport formalities and customs" for people travelling between Turkey and the part of Cyprus under Turkish occupation. This action constitutes a further violation of paragraph 3 of the above-mentioned Security Council resolution and should be viewed with deep concern because it promotes an even greater influx of settlers as well as the gradual integration of occupied Cyprus by Turkey.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

In view of the above, and bearing in mind that the basic human rights and fundamental freedoms of the citizens of Cyprus are constantly being violated by the continuing Turkish occupation, we have the hope and the legitimate expectation that the international community will do its utmost to assist the Secretary-General in his efforts to find a solution and reunify our country.

Communal rights are important, but they cannot be a motive for the denial of individual rights and freedoms. Nor can communal rights be augmented through violations of international law, whether by military occupation, the implantation of settlers or the forcible removal of populations for the purpose of creating homogeneous areas.

Our disappointment at the lack of progress in the ongoing negotiating process is tempered by the fact that the international community is already demonstrating an increased interest in our problem, with certain countries exerting their influence in the promotion of a solution. It is our belief that such a solution must provide for the equal security of individual citizens of both communities and of the federal State. This goal can be achieved through a demilitarized federal republic without foreign troops and settlers.

For our part, we are determined to continue our close cooperation with the Secretary-General for a just and viable solution in accordance with United Nations resolutions. Let us hope that the Turkish side will at long last begin to cooperate as well.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Cyprus for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Greece, upon whom I now call.

Mr. EXARCHOS (Greece): At the outset, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of June. Your excellent diplomatic skills and experience are an assurance that the Council will successfully discharge its important functions under the Charter and perform the current tasks before it.

I take this opportunity to extend sincere and warm congratulations to your predecessor in the Chair, the representative of China, Ambassador Li Daoyu, for the skill and leadership he displayed in the exercise of his duties last month.

I cannot fail to express my Government's sincere thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General for his untiring, constant and consistent efforts to promote a just and viable solution of the Cyprus problem. His patience and perseverance in the face of obstructions and obstacles are admirable. Our thanks are also extended to his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Camilión, and to his Alternate Special Representative, Mr. Feissel, for their valuable contribution to the ongoing negotiating process. I wish also to express appreciation to the Force Commander, Major-General Clive Milner, for the manner in which he has been carrying out his delicate mission, and to the Force's military and civilian personnel for the devotion they have demonstrated in the performance of their duties.

My Government fully shares the view expressed by the Secretary-General in his latest report that the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) remains indispensable. It has therefore concurred in the extension of the Force's mandate for six more months, having taken note of the agreement to that effect of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, in exercise of its exclusive and sovereign right with respect to this matter.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

As we all know, the Peace-keeping Force is performing a wide range of tasks, and there have been cases in which it has faced difficult or delicate situations. This gives me the opportunity to reiterate, on behalf of my Government, sincere appreciation to the Governments of the troop-contributing countries for their continuing commitment to the cause of peace in Cyprus and for having undertaken a heavy financial burden; had they not done so, the very existence of UNFICYP would be at stake.

The adoption by this Council of resolution 682 (1990) and the subsequent establishment of an informal group of friends of the President, coordinated by the Permanent Representative of Ecuador, which met many times in order to examine alternative methods of financing UNFICYP, gave us hope that a resolution of UNFICYP's financial crisis was imminent. Unfortunately, this is not so, and, consequently, it will not be possible to put into effect an alternative method of financing UNFICYP before 15 June, as was anticipated in operative paragraph 2 of resolution 682 (1990).

My Government shares the point of view expressed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 42 of his report (S/22665) that the best way to finance UNFICYP on a more equitable basis would be for the United Nations share of the costs of the Force to be financed from assessed contributions, and we hope that in the very near future this Council will be able to resolve effectively the chronic financial crisis facing the force.

Allow me once again, Mr. President, to reiterate my Government's pledge to maintain the level of its total contribution at the present voluntary amount of $800,000 per annum even if a new system brings its assessed contribution down to a lower level.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

We have reached the end of yet another six-month review period, not only without any tangible results at hand, but also with rather disheartening prospects for achieving even the slightest progress towards a negotiated solution to the Cyprus problem.

On 28 March, following informal consultations, the President of the Security Council issued a statement on behalf of the members of the Council in which it was mentioned, inter alia, that:

> "The members of the Council agree with the Secretary-General's assessment of the current situation, including the main issues that remain to be clarified before an outline can be completed, and encourage him to continue his efforts along the lines he has proposed by making suggestions to facilitate the discussions". (S/22415)

In his statement to the Security Council during consultations on 27 March, the Secretary-General mentioned the following issues on which possible solutions remain to be explored before the two sides can be brought within agreement range: territorial adjustments, freedom of settlement, displaced persons, and the structure and functioning of the federal executive.

Since then, the Secretariat has held one round of talks with a Turkish delegation, from which no elements of progress have emerged. In order to divert attention from the lack of progress that its position in the talks is creating, Turkey proposed a high-level quadrilateral meeting under the auspices of the Secretary-General to discuss the problem. This proposal, which in fact is not new, was rejected by my Government since it contravenes the principal objective of the Secretary-General, which is, as he mentioned in his statement to the Security Council during consultations on 27 March

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

"to invite the leaders of the two communities to meet with me to agree on the outline of an overall agreement. However, to make this possible, the two sides must be within agreement range on all aspects of the outline."

And, as we all know, this is not the case.

On the other hand, during his recent visit to Cyprus, the Greek Prime Minister, Mr. Mitsotakis, and President Vassiliou co-chaired a special meeting of the National Council of Cyprus with the participation of the leaders of all Greek Cypriot political parties. The joint statement issued at the end of that meeting calls upon Turkey to respond, immediately, directly and with reasonable proposals, to the questions of substance raised by the Secretary-General.

It also proposes that the Secretary-General should convene, after appropriate preparation which would offer possibilities for progress, a conference, under his chairmanship, with the participation of the five permament members of the Security Council and Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, in which the two communities in Cyprus would be invited to participate. The purpose of the conference would be to discuss and solve all the basic aspects of the Cyprus problem.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

As anyone may observe, there are two basic elements in this proposal: first, that Turkey should respond as soon as possible to the questions of the Secretary-General and, secondly, that the conference should then be convened by the Secretary-General under his chairmanship and with the participation of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Both of the elements I have just mentioned underscore the attachment of my Government, as well as that of the Republic of Cyprus, to the United Nations and its Secretary-General as a framework and catalyst for solving the problem of Cyprus.

In the meantime the situation in Cyprus remains unchanged. A virtually impermeable military line, which artificially divides Cyprus in two, segregates the island's Greek-Cypriot community, which constitutes 82 per cent of the population, and the Turkish-Cypriot community, which forms 18 per cent of the population, both of which were living intermingled before the 1974 invasion. The 200,000 Greek Cypriots who were forced to flee the north in the wake of the Turkish invasion continue to remain refugees in their own country and are still being deprived of their homes and properties. Of late, the occupying Power has even started to illegally distribute "definite titles" to their properties to persons other than their legal owners.

The freedom of movement and establishment continues to be denied within Cyprus by the Turkish occupation army to both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, in blatant violation of General Assembly resolution 32/12 of 1974, which was accepted by Turkey and endorsed by Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975).

Another violation that is of great concern to us all is that Turkey is pursuing its efforts to change the demographic structure of the occupied areas of the Republic of Cyprus. The number of Turkish settlers implanted in the

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

occupied areas and given the homes and properties of the evicted Greek-Cypriot refugees, now considered by the illegal régime as aliens, has reached the frightening number of 80,000, and, if one adds the 35,000 Turkish soldiers, there are today in the occupied area more Turkish settlers and soldiers than there are Turkish Cypriots. This alteration has worked against the Cypriot population as a whole, if one is to judge by the reaction of the Turkish Cypriots, who have chosen to emigrate by the thousands in order to avoid oppression by the settlers and the Turkish army. I would remind the Council that, by altering the demographic structure of Cyprus, Turkey is violating not only the relevant United Nations resolutions but the fourth Geneva Convention as well, which, in article 49 states that the occupying Power shall not transfer population to the territories it occupies.

Only two days ago Turkey started to implement a so-called agreement with the pseudo-state providing for an abolition of passport requirements between Turkey and those parts of the Republic of Cyprus still occupied by Turkish military forces. Apart from the obvious disregard for the relevant Security Council resolutions 541 (1983), 550 (1984) and 649 (1990), it is quite obvious that this act also aims at facilitating Turkey's continuing policy of changing the demographic structure of the occupied areas of the Republic of Cyprus by bringing settlers from Turkey.

The tragic plight of the enclaved persons in the occupied area of the island continues to preoccupy us, since, owing to discrimination, harassment and oppression by the occupation forces, they have gradually been forced to leave their homes. Their number, as reported by the Secretary-General in his report to the Council, has been reduced to 576, as opposed to the 20,000 who had remained in 1974 following the invasion.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

There has been no progress on the pressing question of missing persons. Despite the adoption of a number of United Nations resolutions and the setting up of a Committee on Missing Persons in 1981, the lack of any cooperation from the Turkish side has led to a total impasse. The families and relatives of the 1600 missing persons who are still unaccounted for live in daily agony about their fate.

Recently the international community has unequivocally declared its will that the new world order is to be based on respect for the rule of law and, in particular, for mandatory United Nations resolutions. President Bush summed up this new approach when he said:

> "We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations...an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peace-keeping role to fulfil the promise and vision of the United Nations founders."

At a time of signs of a better observance of the rule of international law and, therefore, of renewed hopes for mankind, the non-implementation by Turkey of all resolutions adopted by the United Nations on Cyprus stands as a frightening exception.

The problem of Cyprus is a problem of invasion and foreign occupation of the territory of a State Member of the United Nations and, as such, constitutes in itself a most severe problem of violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We fail to see what hope we can entertain for a solution of this problem unless we have an assurance that the Turkish occupying forces and settlers will withdraw from Cyprus and that the fundamental freedoms of movement, establishment and the right to property will

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

be respected so that the people of Cyprus in their entirety will enjoy the fruits of cooperation and unity without external interference or intervention.

In conclusion, I can only express the hope that in the next report of the Secretary-General on his mission of good offices, which is due next month, progress in finding a solution to the Cyprus problem will be mentioned. But that can only happen if Turkey effectively cooperates by indicating its willingness to comply with all relevant United Nations resolutions. Greece, for its part, will continue to give its full support to the Secretary-General, in close cooperation with the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, so that the outcome of his mission can be successful.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Greece for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is Mr. Osman Ertug, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. ERTUG: I would like to thank you, Mr. President, and, through you, the other members of the Security Council, for giving me this opportunity to address the Council on the subject of the extension of the mandate of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) for a further period of six months. I would also like to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of June. I am confident that your diplomatic skills and experience will be greatly instrumental in the successful guidance of the deliberations of the Council. My congratulations go also to your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of China, for the competent manner in which he conducted the Council's work during the month of May.

(Mr. Ertug)

I assumed my duties as the new representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus almost five months ago, at a highly significant phase in the ongoing process in the search for a peaceful settlement in Cyprus. As members all know, the Turkish Cypriot side has been engaged in a series of informal talks with officials of the United Nations Secretariat during the past eight months. In the course of those informal talks, the Turkish Cypriot side has discussed, with the United Nations Secretariat, all aspects of the Cyprus issue and cooperated with them in the effort to forge an agreed outline. The Turkish Cypriot side has responded to the call in the Secretary-General's latest statement and in the subsequent statement by the Security Council President, in the same constructive spirit. It has held further informal talks with the United Nations Secretariat, reviewing and discussing all aspects of the question. It has given all the clarifications and indications that were asked for by the Secretariat.

Our efforts have been directed towards developing the elements of an outline for an overall agreement. We have sought to facilitate the process of negotiations within the framework of the United Nations Secretary-General's mission of good offices and to take advantage of the opportunity created by the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 649 (1990). The helpful role and support of the Republic of Turkey, as a guarantor Power, in this process has been welcomed by my Government and has also been acknowledged in the Secretary-General's latest report.

The Turkish Cypriot side has initiated this process in all sincerity and in line with its genuine interest in pursuing rapprochement and a mutually acceptable settlement with the Greek Cypriot side. We have done so in compliance with the letter and spirit of resolution 649 (1990), which,

(Mr. Ertug)

inter alia, calls upon the two sides to cooperate, on an equal footing, with the Secretary-General, in completing, in the first instance, the outline of an overall agreement. In our view, resolution 649 (1990) is a landmark resolution enhancing the likelihood of the ultimate success of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. It defines clearly the ground rules for the process of negotiations and emphasizes the equality of the two sides in this process, as well as in a future federal settlement, based on bi-communality and bi-zonality. The Secretary-General's statement of 27 March 1991 expounds these established principles and identifies the relationship between the two peoples as that of "politically equal communities". I shall now quote from that statement:

> "My mission of good offices in Cyprus is with the two communities; the two communities participate on an equal footing in the process of defining the solution to the Cyprus problem; and the specifics of the solution must be approved by both communities. Cyprus is the common home of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities whose relationship is not one of majority and minority, but one of two communities in Cyprus. The solution to the Cyprus problem is one State comprising two politically equal communities. The objective is to work out a new constitutional arrangement for the State of Cyprus that will govern the relations between the two communities on a federal basis that will be bi-communal as regards constitutional aspects and bi-zonal as regards territorial aspects."

Our quest for a mutually agreeable solution is based on these fundamental principles and our approach is oriented towards the objectives reiterated by the Secretary-General's statement.

(Mr. Ertug)

Recently, the Republic of Turkey made a proposal for a quadripartite meeting with the participation of the United Nations Secretary-General, involving the Turkish Cypriot and the Greek Cypriot sides, Turkey and Greece. My Government supports this proposal as a means of injecting impetus into the negotiating process and facilitating the Secretary-General's mission of good offices.

Rather than adopting a positive attitude towards this proposal, the Greek Cypriot side and Greece have been engaged in political manoeuvring. During the Greek Prime Minister's recent visit to Southern Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot side made an announcement which is contrary to the agreed basis of the negotiating process. In fact, with this announcement, the Greek Cypriot side is seeking to destroy the very basis of the negotiating process, which is the equality of the two sides. We call on the Greek Cypriot side to abandon such counter-productive tactics and reconsider its attitude towards the realistic proposal for a quadripartite meeting with the participation of the Secretary-General.

The Turkish Cypriot side has done more than its fair share in promoting a solution. But a mutually acceptable settlement cannot be built on the efforts and goodwill of one side alone. The Greek Cypriot side should also do the same in order to revive the process of direct negotiations. During this latest phase of the Cyprus issue, the responses that we have been getting from the Greek Cypriot side have continued to be very disappointing. What has the Greek Cypriot done during this period to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations Secretary-General? The answer is obvious. It is regrettable that the Greek Cypriot side has failed, once again, to reciprocate, in any positive manner, to our constructive and conciliatory efforts in this regard.

(Mr. Ertug)

On the contrary, the Greek Cypriot side has chosen to step up its hostile actions against the Turkish Cypriot people. Highly provocative statements are issued on a daily basis which exacerbate the situation and deepen the existing mistrust between the two peoples. The indications are that the Greek Cypriots are not interested in a peaceful, negotiated settlement in Cyprus. This is also manifested in the level of the military build-up in the South which has reached alarming proportions, with the introduction of high-technology weapons systems. At one point, spending for new armaments in the South had reached $1.4 million per day. The Greek Cypriot Defense Minister, Mr. Aloneftis, is now expressing confidence that his forces are ready for an offensive against Northern Cyprus. Recent reports suggesting that the Greek Cypriot administration intends to cut military spending have been denied by Mr. Aloneftis himself, who stated that their aim was to purchase more advanced weapons with less spending. Only recently, he stated that vital military programmes would go ahead as planned. He further announced that a new rearmament programme would be launched at the beginning of 1992 and continue until 1995. New arms purchases would be carried out in the light of the experience of the Gulf War, a clear indication that the Greek Cypriot side is also after a qualitative increase.

A second element harming prospects for reconciliation between the two sides is the persistence of the Greek Cypriot administration in maintaining the long-standing policy of isolating Northern Cyprus from the rest of the world. As part of this policy, the Greek Cypriot administration is hampering, by every conceivable means, the existing links of Northern Cyprus with other countries in commercial, cultural, touristic, social, sportive and other fields. The recent illegal detention of a Turkish cargo ship, with its crew,

(Mr. Ertug)

which, after calling at the port of Famagusta in Northern Cyprus, was forced by weather conditions to seek refuge at Limassol port in Southern Cyprus, is a case in point. The Turkish Cypriot people resent the fact that they have to battle, every day, with a new incident and a new Greek Cypriot intrigue designed to deprive them of their basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. We expect the world community to prevent such restrictive policies by the Greek Cypriot side and to avoid being instrumental in the implementation of such practices.

While perpetuating inhuman measures against Northern Cyprus on an international scale, the Greek Cypriot side is, at the same time, trying to extend its jurisdiction into the buffer zone and even the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The village of Pyla, situated in the buffer zone, which is the only mixed village, has again been the scene of Greek Cypriot provocations. The Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of Pyla are under a virtual siege and face economic, as well as social and cultural, pressure from the Greek Cypriot side. In a recent display of arrogance and religious intolerance, the Greek Cypriot administration raised strong objections to the construction of a minaret on the existing mosque in the village. In line with this obstructionist policy, the Greek Cypriot administration also tried to prevent the provision of telephone connections to Turkish Cypriot homes in the village, thus depriving the inhabitants of their right to communicate.

(Mr. Ertug)

Economic pressure on the Turkish Cypriot inhabitants of Pyla is tightly maintained through punitive measures against those who have commercial dealings with Turkish Cypriots. Those who buy goods from Turkish Cypriots are arrested and fined. Most of the time they are humiliated in court and declared to be traitors if they happen to be Greek Cypriots. Recently, some foreigners were intercepted by Greek Cypriot police and illegally searched merely because they were thought to be carrying T-shirts purchased from a Turkish Cypriot shopkeeper in Pyla. Others found in possession of snails or fish bought from Turkish Cypriots were arrested and taken to court. Cyprus is probably unique in being a place where such harmless creatures as snails are a subject of political controversy. This shows the lengths to which the Greek Cypriots will go in expressing their feelings towards their Turkish Cypriot neighbours.

In connection with the situation in Pyla I should like to refer members of the Council to the letter dated 27 May 1991 addressed by Mr. Rauf Denktash to the Secretary-General, which has been circulated in document S/22688, and to paragraphs 30 to 32 of the latest report of the Secretary-General on UNFICYP operations, contained in document S/22665.

During and after the recent elections in the South we have heard from the Greek Cypriot political parties the kind of rhetoric that is not conducive to any settlement or reconciliation between the two peoples in Cyprus. The statements made after the elections by the leaders of the two leading parties suffice to show the perspective in which the Greek Cypriot side sees the Cyprus question. One political-party leader stated provocatively that a solution to the Cyprus problem passes through Girne, a coastal town situated on the northern coast of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Another

(Mr. Ertug)

Greek Cypriot leader rejected the continuation of effective guarantees providing for the security of the Turkish Cypriot people. Moreover, the Greek Cypriot and Greece have clearly ruled out the political equality of the Turkish Cypriots in a future federation, claiming that equality as expressed in resolution 649 (1990) is limited to the negotiating table.

That there exists no political will on the part of the Greek Cypriot side and that there is no change in the present hostile policies towards the Turkish Cypriots is also evident in the provocative statements which rekindle feelings of hatred towards the Turkish Cypriot people. The unwillingness of the Greek Cypriot side to come to terms with their Turkish Cypriot neighbours and to establish non-confrontational relations with them is the underlying difficulty that we are facing today in the negotiating process.

The Turkish Cypriot side believes that the display of good will and the establishment of mutual trust should be primary considerations in the search for a negotiated settlement. With that in mind we have put together a package of ideas in the form of stabilization measures, which can be used to supplement an outline for an overall agreement. These ideas, which promote a non-confrontational approach in the island and explore the possibilities of cooperation and confidence-building in various areas, can be utilized with the encouragement of all concerned to facilitate the current efforts of the Secretary-General. We would like to hope that the Greek Cypriot side will abandon its rejectionist attitude and seriously consider these ideas, which have already been communicated to the Secretary-General.

Every time the Security Council meets to discuss Cyprus the same allegations are repeated against the Turkish Cypriot side by the Greek Cypriot representative. In fact, the Greek Cypriot representative has given the

(Mr. Ertug)

Council a typical example of that today. Our detailed replies to his groundless allegations can be found in our previous statements and letters circulated in United Nations documents. I am therefore not going to take up the Council's valuable time by responding to those allegations, which are well known.

As a brief comment on the Secretary-General's current report on peace-keeping operations in Cyprus (S/22665), I should like to emphasize that the repeated references made in that report to the Greek Cypriot Administration of southern Cyprus as the "Government of the Republic of Cyprus" are not in accord with the legal and factual situation in the island. Such references can only make the Greek Cypriots more intransigent, giving them no incentive to seek a power-sharing partnership with the Turkish Cypriots. Furthermore, a misleading account of some of the incidents which have taken place in the island during the period of the report is given, marring an otherwise balanced report. Another element that detracts from the balance of the report is the failure to make reference to the Greek Cypriot rearmament efforts, which constitute a major threat to the security of the Turkish Cypriots. Our more detailed comments on the report will be conveyed to the relevant United Nations officials in due course.

Turning now to the question of the extension of the mandate of UNFICYP, I should like to reiterate that the resolution just adopted by the Security Council is unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side for reasons that were outlined at previous Security Council meetings on this matter. Any resolution that refers to the Greek Cypriot Administration as the "Government of Cyprus" is unacceptable to the Turkish Cypriot side, because such resolutions ignore the existing realities in Cyprus and attempt to negate the principle of equality between the two sides.

(Mr. Ertug)

Notwithstanding its rejection of the present resolution, the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is favourably disposed to accepting the presence of UNFICYP on the territory of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus on the same basis as that stated in Decmeber 1990. Thus, our position continues to be that the principle, the scope, the modalities and the procedures of cooperation between the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and UNFICYP shall be based only on decisions taken solely by the Government of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus.

In that connection, I should like to point out that the present madate of UNFICYP is not compatible with today's radically changed conditions and circumstances. In the light of the present realities in Cyprus and the new approach spelled out in resolution 649 (1990), we believe that a reappraisal of UNFICYP's mandate is necessary. That would not only respond to prevailing circumstances, but would also be in keeping with the decision to reach a settlement based on the equality of the two parties.

Before concluding my statement I wish to renew my Government's support for the continuation of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Security Council. We have cooperated to the fullest extent with the Secretary-General and will continue to do so in accordance with the guidelines set forth in resolution 649 (1990) in order to reach freely a mutually acceptable settlement. In keeping with that resolution, we urge the Greek Cypriots to do the same and to seize the present opportunity for the resumption of direct negotiations on an equal footing.

Finally, we commend the efforts and invaluable contributions of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, Mr. Oscar Camilión, and of Mr. Gustave Feissel. We also commend Under-Secretary-General Marrack

(Mr. Ertug)

Goulding and Force Commander Major General Clive Milner for their untiring efforts in guiding UNFICYP.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank Mr. Ertug for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Turkey, on whom I now call.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): My delegation is pleased, Sir, to see you, the Permanent Representative of a country with which Turkey has the best of relations, presiding over the work of the Council this month. I am certain that under your competent guidance the Security Council will carry out its task with great effectiveness. I should like also to express our admiration to Ambassador Li Daoyu of China for the remarkable manner in which he conducted the business of the Security Council during the course of last month.

The question of Cyprus has been with us since the latter part of 1963. During these 28 years this intractable problem has revolved around the following central question: How can the two communities of Cyprus resolve their differences and cooperate with each other so that the 28-year-old division of Cyprus can be brought to an end and a legitimate and genuine Republic of Cyprus be set up?

The Security Council in its wisdom has shown us the way. In its resolution 649 (1990), adopted unanimously in March last year, the Security Council declared that a solution in Cyprus should lead to a federation that would be bizonal and bicommunal. The Council stated that the two peoples that call Cyprus their home must freely negotiate a solution that would be mutually acceptable. The Council stressed the equality of the two communities, asked the two sides to cooperate with the Secretary-General for the purpose of completing an outline of an overall agreement, and called on the parties to refrain from actions that would aggravate the situation.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The Turkish Cypriots have given their full support to resolution 649 (1990). They have also complied assiduously with its provisions. For many months now the Turkish Cypriots have worked closely with the Secretariat, in an informal manner, to contribute to the completion of the outline of an overall settlement, as called for in resolution 649 (1990). Many new ideas have been produced and many old positions revised to help bridge the gap separating the two sides.

The Government of Turkey has actively encouraged and fully supported the Turkish Cypriot side in its constructive approach to the difficult questions that had to be grappled with in the course of this exercise. Indeed, a high-level official of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs actually participated, on an informal basis, in this exercise in order to help the Secretary-General in his delicate task.

As a result of these efforts, the Turkish Cypriot side has carried out its responsibilities under resolution 649 (1990) and put forth detailed ideas regarding all of the eight headings of the outline of an overall agreement. Given the complex nature of the Cyprus question, and given the terrible past suffering of the Turkish Cypriot people, the ideas contained in the Turkish Cypriot non-papers are fair, constructive and realistic. These ideas provide a sound basis for the intercommunal talks to be resumed at an early date.

During this period, when so much creative effort was being made by the Turkish Cypriot side, the Greek Cypriot side was not forthcoming. The ambivalent Greek Cypriot attitude to resolution 649 (1990) is also reflected in their unhelpful approach to the Secretary-General's efforts to bridge the gap separating the two communities. They have made no new proposals, nor have

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

they put forward any new ideas. As a consequence of this negative Greek Cypriot stance, the prospects for an early resumption of the intercommunal talks do not look very promising.

To overcome this obstacle President Ozal of Turkey recently proposed a summit meeting that would bring the two Cypriot leaders together, with the Heads of State or Government of the two mother countries, Turkey and Greece, around a table. The Secretary-General would also participate in this quadripartite summit, within the framework of his mission of good offices. Such a meeting would, hopefully, break the present stalemate and allow the search for a solution to get under way once again. I regret to say that both Greece and the Greek Cypriots were quick to reject this proposal, which was designed to overcome the paralysis stemming directly from the uncooperative Greek Cypriot position.

A few minutes ago we heard from Mr. Ertug, the representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, a listing of the many irritations and aggravations that the Turkish Cypriots have to put up with daily because of the implacable hostility of the Greek Cypriots. These hostile actions are a clear violation of paragraph 5 of resolution 649 (1990), which calls on the parties to refrain from actions that could aggravate the situation.

But the deep-seated antagonism displayed by the Greek Cypriots against their Turkish Cypriot neighbours in the north violates resolution 649 (1990) in a more fundamental way. The whole thrust of that resolution is to make possible the establishment of a Federal Republic of Cyprus. Is it possible to establish a federation between two peoples and between two States when so much

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

animosity and hatred is displayed by one of them against the other? How is it conceivable that such hostility could ever lead to a partnership of equals in a federal State, which must be based on mutual respect and esteem?

We would have hoped that Greece would try to curb the rampant chauvinism of the Greek Cypriots and thus heed the call of the Secretary-General, who appealed in his report (S/21393) of 12 July 1990 to the guarantor Powers to play a constructive role in creating the conditions that will facilitate achieving a solution. In this respect, the recent visit to southern Cyprus of Mr. Mitsotakis, the Prime Minister of Greece, was a great disappointment. Instead of calling for moderation and reconciliation, Mr. Mitsotakis encouraged the Greek Cypriots to indulge in their usual nationalistic chest-thumping. It is very sad to see how a visit that might have resulted in a historic turning-point was allowed to turn into a visit that will soon be forgotten.

Turning to the resolution that the Council has just adopted, my delegation is unable to accept the reference to "the Government of Cyprus", for the reason explained by the representative of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, which I will not repeat. My Government, however, has no objection to the extension of UNFICYP's mandate for a further six months.

Before concluding my statement, I want to reiterate Turkey's full support for the Secretary-General's efforts to find a just and lasting solution to the question of Cyprus. Few people know the background and the complexities of the question of Cyprus as intimately as our Secretary-General. We greatly appreciate his integrity and fairness. We are conscious of his dedication to his mission. We will continue to work closely with him to try to achieve the objectives set out in resolution 649 (1990).

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

We want to express our appreciation to Mr. Oscar Camilión, the Representative of the Secretary-General in Cyprus, for his patient efforts to overcome the differences between the two Cypriot peoples. We want also to thank Mr. Feissel for his valuable services to the Secretary-General in support of his mission of good offices. Finally, we want to recognize the good work being done by UNFICYP and the professional competence of its commander, our good friend, General Milner.

With permission, Mr. President, I should like to make a few comments about some of the things that were said by the two speakers who preceded Mr. Ertug.

First, I wish to comment very briefly on the proposals contained in the communiqué dated 8 June 1991 of the so-called National Council of Cyprus. That Council is composed of the leaders of the Greek Cypriot political parties. The meeting was also attended by the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Mitsotakis, and the Foreign Minister of Greece, Mr. Samaras.

The proposal to convene an international conference for the alleged purpose of promoting the peace process cannot be taken seriously, because the Greek/Greek Cypriot proposal is a gross violation of resolution 649 (1990), which provides for the full equality of the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. The proposal is to convene a conference attended by, among others, "the Government of Cyprus" and the representatives of the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots. That would violate the equality of the two sides by having the Greek Cypriots represented twice at the conference - once as the Greek Cypriot community and once again under the guise of the Government of Cyprus.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

I do not have to remind the Council that the Government of Cyprus, as foreseen in the 1960 Cypriot Constitution, ceased to exist 28 years ago following the forcible expulsion of the Turkish Cypriots from the government and administration of Cyprus. Since then the so-called Government of Cyprus has usurped that title, and everybody knows that it represents exclusively the Greek Cypriots and exercises jurisdiction only over the southern part of the island. That being the case, neither Turkey nor the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus would agree to sit at a table with a Government that has no constitutional legitimacy.

The authors of the Greek/Greek Cypriot proposal knew that the conference idea, with its lopsided participation, was a non-starter, because it contravenes resolution 649 (1990) and because it tries to gain legitimacy for the administration masquerading as the Government of Cyprus. Obviously, the proposal was a tactical manoeuvre and cannot warrant serious consideration.

President Ozal's four-Power summit meeting proposal conforms fully with resolution 649 (1990) and with the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. It provides for the presence of the Secretary-General himself as well as the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot sides at the summit. It also provides for participation of the two mother countries, which, as guarantors, were requested by the Secretary-General in his report of 12 July 1990 to facilitate the achieving of a solution.

The alarm expressed by the other side of the table at the introduction of new regulations that will facilitate visits of up to three months between Turkey and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus is totally unwarranted.

(Mr. Aksin, Turkey)

The measures taken are in keeping with the new trend seen in Europe and elsewhere of reducing border formalities to a minimum to encourage greater contacts between nations. I might point out that seven years ago my Government lifted the requirement for Greek citizens to obtain visas when visiting Turkey. This was done as a gesture of friendship in order to bring the two nations closer together. Since then, the number of Greek tourists in Turkey has increased dramatically. I am sorry to say that the Government of Greece has not made a reciprocal gesture, and continues to demand visas from Turkish travellers to Greece.

Finally, listening to the representative of the Greek Cypriots, I am reminded of the European royal dynasty which, it has been said, never learned anything and forgot nothing. Every six months, we hear the same old allegations against the Turkish side, alluding to Turkey and to the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus interchangeably in a deliberate attempt to confuse and to mislead. I suspect the Council must be getting tired of hearing this stale rhetoric, and I will spare those present by not repeating our detailed refutation of the crude distortions coming from the Greek Cypriots. All I would say is that instead of trying to smear Turkey, the Greek Cypriots would do well to concentrate on how they can cooperate with their Turkish Cypriot neigbours so that the division of Cyprus, for which the Greek Cypriots must bear responsibility, can be brought to an honourable and peaceful end.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I thank the representative of Turkey for his kind words addressed to me. I now call on the representative of Cyprus.

Mr. MAVROMMATIS (Cyprus): First and foremost, I should like to remind members that I did not say anything against the Turkish Cypriots. In fact, I did not even mention the words 'Turkish Cypriots' during my entire speech. But I think it is necessary once again to reread rules 37 and 39 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council.

Rule 37 refers to the right of Members of the United Nations to participate in the discussion before the Council. And, as such, we participate. All countries, most of all Turkey, should at least read, learn, respect, obey and implement the Rules of Procedure.

Under rule 39, the Security Council may invite members of the Secretariat - this is not the case - or other persons whom it considers competent for the purpose, to supply it with information or to give other assistance in examining matters within its competence. The assistance that the Council received from the two previous speakers was a reiteration that the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus - this so-called illegal entity - has a representative: I am merely masquerading, and members of the Council, who accept my masquerade, are part of the masquerade.

This person who came 'to assist' reiterated, contrary to the Ccouncil's own decisions, that he represents a country, a republic, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. But instead of calling upon him and his country, which was created by Turkey to put an end to the illegal entity, we have been listening to this speaker, who complacently says that we, a tiny country, remind him of the empire that his country thinks it is now, and that we should bow to them. Indeed, ignoring international law, they station soldiers on our land, thereby preventing us from controlling the part of our land they occupy. As a result, we have lost our rights.

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

I said earlier that they have not learned a lesson from Kuwait. You now have clear evidence of that fact before your very eyes.

I should like now to make a few small points. It was said that we made no new proposals. In fact, we had very few contacts with the Secretary-General during these intervening eight or nine months. The reason for that is known to every single one of you here: We were not requested to do so. All that they were doing was negotiating with Turkey. Later on, Turkish Cypriots joined in. Those were the actual occurrences. Moreover, the invocation of resolution 649 (1990) borders on the ridiculous. They are trying to give their own interpretation of that resolution, forgetting that the very raison d'être of the resolution - which, by the way, reiterates previous resolutions - was to tell them two things: first, that they do not have the right of self-determination; and secondly, that the Secretary-General has the right to submit proposals. Now they are trying to be the sole arbiters and interpreters of that resolution, which is part of a series of resolutions, and to tell us that we are in violation of it because we are making a proposal that violates what they call equality. Equality is in the negotiating process in so far as the intercommunal talks are concerned, because you cannot equate a country with a community - there is no doubt about it - wherever that may be taking place.

As to the visit of the Prime Minister of Greece, Mr. Mitsotakis, I should like to draw a clear distinction between the invitation extended to the Prime Minister of a country that has constantly and consistently supported the very existence of the Republic of Cyprus and has cooperated fully with the United Nations in respect of the quest for a solution to the problem, and previous visits that we had from the conquistador country - prime ministers or whatever

(Mr. Mavrommatis, Cyprus)

they may call themselves. There is indeed a vast difference needed. They came as conquerors. In a shame-faced way they are going to leave that country, which they are occupying as conquerors.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I now call on the representative of Greece.

Mr. EXARCHOS (Greece): With your indulgence, Mr. President, I feel obliged to respond to a few points raised by my Turkish colleague.

I turn first of all to the recent visit of the Prime Minister of Greece to Cyprus and the recent decision taken by the National Council of Cyprus with his participation. Personally, I had hoped that after his Government's first hasty reaction on 9 June 1991, the representative of Turkey would study more carefully and with more self-control the content of the communiqué of the National Council of Cyprus. Unfortunately, he does not seem able to depart from his usual pattern. However, when he does so, he will realize that the proposals contained in the communiqué not only do not distort the framework of the Secretary-General's initiative but, on the contrary, are based on it and aim at facilitating and reinforcing it. This is proved both by the fact that the Secretary-General is requested to convene and preside over such a conference and that the five permanent members of the Security Council will participate in it. If there is something which could distort the Secretary-General's mission and, consequently, Security Council resolution 649 (1990), which my Turkish colleague insists on invoking selectively, it is the Turkish proposal for convening a quadripartite meeting which, by its nature, cannot have any relation to the process followed so far. On the contrary, no one will fail to realize that what is primarily requested in the National Council's decision is that the Turkish side should respond to the

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

Secretary-General's persistent request to clarify its position in a concrete and exclusive way concerning territorial adjustments and the refugees. This would then enable the Secretary-General to request, through his report to the Security Council, the active support of its permanent members to promote the peace process decisively by convening a conference in which all directly interested parties would participate.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

It should also be recalled that the decision of the National Council not only reconfirms that the preferred solution should be based on the United Nations resolutions and the high-level agreements, but also explicitly reaffirms the proposals of the Greek Cypriot side for a comprehensive solution based on a bi-communal, bi-zonal and demilitarized federation.

Since I am speaking, and since the representative of Turkey always likes to invoke Security Council resolution 649 (1990), it might be useful to recall that this resolution was adopted at the request of the Secretary-General to the Security Council following the impasse created by Mr. Denktash in February 1990 with his demand for recognition of two peoples in the island of Cyprus and the separate right of self-determination for the Turkish Cypriot community.

In the report to the Security Council on his mission of good offices in Cyprus on 8 March 1990, the Secretary-General stated that the insistence of Mr. Denktash that the term "communities" be used in a manner that is synonymous with the term "peoples", each having a separate right to self-determination, created an impasse of a substantive kind which raised questions regarding the Secretary-General's mandate of good offices given to him by the Security Council. Therefore, regarding the basis of the talks, the Security Council, to which the Secretary-General turned for guidance, rejected this attempt to change the basis of the talks by its resolution 649 (1990). That same resolution also recalls all previous United Nations resolutions on Cyprus and reaffirms in its first operative paragraph the exclusion of union in whole or in part with any other country and any form of partition or secession, thus reiterating and reaffirming Security Council resolutions 541 (1983) and 550 (1984), which declare the Turkish Cypriot unilateral declaration of independence illegal and call for its withdrawal.

(Mr. Exarchos, Greece)

Finally, I should like through you, Mr. President, to ask the representative of Turkey if his Government, by accepting Security Council resolution 649 (1990), can accept at the same time all the other relevant resolutions of the United Nations on Cyprus, including General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which had been accepted by Turkey 16 years ago and which provides, inter alia, for the withdrawal of its troops, the return of the refugees, and respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. If we have a positive reply from him, then I believe that the Secretary-General should be immediately informed.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): I call on the representative of Turkey.

Mr. AKSIN (Turkey): I have one short remark. The representative of the Greek Cypriots would do well to watch his language when addressing the Security Council. The kind of language he uses against his neighbour is always discourteous and often reckless and abusive. This will get him nowhere. The question we are discussing now is how we are going to create the federal republic of Cyprus. This will only be possible when the Greek Cypriots learn to respect the Turkish Cypriots and treat them as their equals.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from French): There are no further speakers. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 12.20 p.m.